

10  
*Parainesis Pacifica;*  
O R, A.  
PERSWASIVE  
TO THE  
UNION  
OF  
BRITAIN.

-----*Faciamq; omnes uno ore* LATINOS.

---

-----*Quo sanguine surget*  
*Supra homines, supra ira Deas, pietate videbis.*

---



EDINBURGH,  
Printed by Mr. Andrew Symson, M: DCC II:

23 Oct. 1702





To the Queen

Madam

These few thoughts had not been exposed to your Majestys reading, had I not Judged their design, worthy of your Royall protection, on these accounts, that this Union (if concluded) will at once give the greatest, and most stable security to Britan, both against seditions within, and invasions from without; and will prevent your Majesty and Royall Successors, from the most frequent embarrasments in your Councils and Government: to which the division, of every kind, betwixt the Kingdoms, did expose them: and that by removing the mother cause of these evils; Therefor I humbly presume, the boldness of the Address and weakness of the —

Addresser will be either excused or pardoned in

Your Majesties

Most humble, most obedient, and  
most faithfull Subject and Servant

23<sup>d</sup> Octo<sup>r</sup> 1702

(111)

A GENERAL

# PREFACE

over the world

It is a general principle, that the more we know of the world, the more we are disposed to love it. This is a principle which is not only true in itself, but which is also true in its application to the world. The more we know of the world, the more we are disposed to love it. This is a principle which is not only true in itself, but which is also true in its application to the world. The more we know of the world, the more we are disposed to love it. This is a principle which is not only true in itself, but which is also true in its application to the world.

And, indeed, it is a principle which is not only true in itself, but which is also true in its application to the world.

And, indeed, it is a principle which is not only true in itself, but which is also true in its application to the world. The more we know of the world, the more we are disposed to love it. This is a principle which is not only true in itself, but which is also true in its application to the world. The more we know of the world, the more we are disposed to love it. This is a principle which is not only true in itself, but which is also true in its application to the world.



# RELATIVE

The first question which arises in the mind of the reader is, what is the meaning of the word 'relative'? It is a word which is used in many different senses, and it is not always clear to which sense it is applied. In the present context, it is used in the sense of 'relative to' or 'relative to each other'. It is a word which is used to express a comparison or a relation between two or more things. For example, we say that a man is tall relative to a child, or that a horse is fast relative to a snail. In the same way, we can say that a man is rich relative to a beggar, or that a country is large relative to another country. The word 'relative' is also used in the sense of 'relative to each other', as in the case of the two sides of a coin, or the two ends of a rope. In this sense, it is used to express a mutual relation or a comparison between two things. For example, we say that the two sides of a coin are relative to each other, or that the two ends of a rope are relative to each other. The word 'relative' is also used in the sense of 'relative to a particular point of view', as in the case of the two sides of a coin, or the two ends of a rope. In this sense, it is used to express a comparison or a relation between two things, but only from a particular point of view. For example, we say that a man is tall relative to a child, but only from the point of view of height. In the same way, we can say that a country is large relative to another country, but only from the point of view of area.

It is clear from the above that the word 'relative' is used in many different senses, and it is not always clear to which sense it is applied. In the present context, it is used in the sense of 'relative to' or 'relative to each other'. It is a word which is used to express a comparison or a relation between two or more things. For example, we say that a man is tall relative to a child, or that a horse is fast relative to a snail. In the same way, we can say that a man is rich relative to a beggar, or that a country is large relative to another country. The word 'relative' is also used in the sense of 'relative to each other', as in the case of the two sides of a coin, or the two ends of a rope. In this sense, it is used to express a mutual relation or a comparison between two things. For example, we say that the two sides of a coin are relative to each other, or that the two ends of a rope are relative to each other. The word 'relative' is also used in the sense of 'relative to a particular point of view', as in the case of the two sides of a coin, or the two ends of a rope. In this sense, it is used to express a comparison or a relation between two things, but only from a particular point of view. For example, we say that a man is tall relative to a child, but only from the point of view of height. In the same way, we can say that a country is large relative to another country, but only from the point of view of area.

# A GENERAL PREFACE.

**I**T is strange, that any of the Two Kingdoms of *Scotland* or *England*, should need arguments to perswade them unto the opinion; That the Union, is the advantage of the whole; And therefore the advantage of each part: And if it be so, to stop at difficulties in the threshold, is too silly; For if it be highly profitable, Then no difficulties, which lye under the Capacity of either Kingdom to remove, should stand in the way. And either it is not so great a good, as all own it to be, or else these difficulties should cede to that greater good. For if the evill be greater, to ether or to both, than the good; The Union cannot be profitable to the whole: If lesser, then they should cede, and the Union be Imbraced. There is nothing which wants inconveniencies; Judgement is the ballance where'er be Judge. These generals, seem axiomes; *the lesser cedes to the greater; The more particular, to the universal*; Shall the good of a part be preferred to the Common good? 'twas said in *Rome* when one acted any thing shamefully; Beware lest *Cato* see this; I say, Beware lest noble ancient *Rome*, hear this.

If the question be askt, To what good tends the Union? Answer; For increase of Strength, Honour, Riches, Peace, security

curity; And in one word for increase of warlike, industrious Inhabitants, useful in Peace, by Sea and Land. In War for Offence or Defence; And for adjoyning a part to the whole, which can pour in men to defend it, if assailed; And places and confederats to shelter it, if it fly.

The other Question; What evils do we evite by this Union? Answer; War and its effects; The most dangerous of all the Enemies that in possibility can attack any part of this Isle. It takes off Incouragements from Enemies, Associates from Seditious, and hopes from Forraigners: And in short to secure us, from all the horrid evils, which *Brittain* experienced, whilst it was divided.

It will be Obj. 1o. This is a great Innovation: Answer; Was there ever a transition from a bad state, to a good, from Misery to happiness, from weakness to strength, from danger to safety, without novation?

It's Obj. 2do. The Honourable name of *Scotland*, and *England*, will be swallowed up. O wonderful loss! pray call to mind that it is but a short period, since *Scotland* did know it self under that name; And as short while, since *South Brittain* was Justly ashamed, to be called by the name of *Angles*? And is it so hateful to be restored to their mother name *Brittain*, when you cannot claim so honourable a Father?

Obj. 3. The names of Nations are exprest in ancient and modern Leagues and Treaties: Answer; Does change of Denominations, (which are altogether extrinseck to us) Change the *Res publica*, or the People, or the Nation, because they are greater than when these Leagues were made? Doth the Change of Governments, or forms of constitutions of Government, annihilate the People or the Nation? And yet any of these are more real changes, than names; which are indeed not real; far less intrinseck substance.

But as in natural, so in Politick Bodies, The remedies of diseases, are with much more certainty grounded on experience than on Theory; Let us therefore consider that those



[ v ]  
Kingdoms or States, who did fully Unite and Incorporat their new-acquired Kingdoms, Provinces or Cities to their prior possessions; have, if not always, yet generally, possess these conquests, longer, and with greater Security, and less disturbances; than these who Subjected, or adjoyned them without such commixtion and incorporation: It was by this method chiefly that *Rome* attained to so Immense power, and so solid greatness. Wherefore they are not so properly said to have vanquish't the *Sabines*, *Samnites*, the *Volses* & other *Italians*, as to have been Incorporated or identified with them: for all these concurred in the same Acts, always to save or to increase *Rome*, and themselves; at once: Whereas *Lacedemon*, *Athens*, and even *Venice*, must always by themselves defend themselves, and maintain their Conquests, whilst their Provinciated parts, (who, if of them, would stand or fall with them, being one body) will not be so much concerned to Imploy and expose themselves for supporting their masters, who would be still their masters, and use them as underlings; much like the *Ass* who would not stress himself to flee with his Load from the Robbers, Tho' his master was very earnest to have him do so, Because (said the *Ass*) when I am taken by the other, I shall be but an *Ass*, and carrie the burden still.

Nor shall we observe it otherways in Monarchies, For how oft hath *Denmark* and *Sweden*, as it were in reciprocation, Subdued one the other; And yet, of how short duration was that seeming, or temporary Coalition, and that because they were never incorporated, into one Body Politick: but kept as distinct bodies, or Politick *Suppositums*: They had different Constitutions, different and sometimes opposite Interests, in consequence of their separat Constitutions, and beings; And on every opportunity offered, they again separated; Nay always increased in enmity on every separation: For as Heterogeneous things separat; So Homogeneous Substances, do difficultly separate; And if separated; do by nature and opportunity, run again into Mixtion and Coalition.

From

[ vi ]

From the same causes, were the Kingdom of *France*, The Kingdom of *Germany*, The Kingdom of *Italy* and of the *Lombards*, so oft, and so easily divided, Albeit United by *Charlemaine*; Hence was the short duration of the Union twixt *Hungary* and *Pole*, tho' United in *Anno*. Hence the breach and almost ruine of *Bohemia*, from the house of *Austria*, to the *Palatines*.

Whereas *France* by Incorporating the Kingdom of *Ales*, of *Austrasia*; And of Sovereign Principalities; as of *Bretaign*, *Burgundy*: And *Anno* 1343: even the *Dauphinat* (Tho' contrary to the Original Contract) hath continued, not with it, but of it, as being one and the same. But no example more futeable to us, nor clearer in it self; Than the Union of the *English* Heptarchy; and thereafter of *Wales*, And of the Town of *Berwick*: And notwithstanding, that the defects on the Compleat Union of *Arragon* and *Catalonia* with *Castile* and the other Kingdoms of *Spain* want very little, and in few things; yet hath *Spain* found more trouble and embarras, from *Arragon*; and more Wars and sedition in *Catalonia*, by ten times, than by all the other Kingdoms, which are intirely Incorporat; And all these truely United, Do always Act as if one, against these two; For it is a certain conclusion, That since *Imperium est in Rege ut in capite, & in populo, ut in toto*: That therefore it must be, a whole is of a firmer constitution for strength and duration, where not only the head is One, But where the *Populus*, i: e: the body is One also, than it can be, where it is, not in *populo, ut in toto*; But, *ut in totis & oppositis*.

*Nec mihi Regna peto, paribus sed legibus ambas  
Invictas Gentes, Aeterna in fœdera mittam.*

from the same source, were the Kingdom of France, The Kingdom of Germany, The Kingdom of Italy and of the East, divided into three parts, and to each part assigned a share of the same.

Madam

Since God and nature have separated the Isle of Britain from all the world; This seems to point at a fitness for its politick union: Division is the foundation of ruins; for a Kingdom divided against it self, can not stand: and an Island divided in its government, hath thereby, an aptitude to such divisions, as end in ruins.

This Theorie, was sufficiently proved, by Britains sad experience; when it was two Kingdoms, under two Sovereigns. The Sovereigntie being united, the greatest impediment of a total union was removed, by Gods wonderfull providence. And no doubt, it is a punishment for our impiety, that our Kingdoms were not so, in consequence. Whilst they are divided, each of them bounds the other; which is a note of diminution, but were they one, It might boast of being such, an Empire, as Alexander but wished, having no bounds, but water and air.

Idle wishing, is the labor of the lazy and Impotent; to suite that imputation I offer my small service in a more effectual endeavor, by laying before the eyes of those concerned, what occurs to me; and as persuasive to others for concurring in so great a good, which was the Study of the greatest King.



and wisest men, in both Kingdoms; for many generations; and in several methods of attempts; oft times by war, sometimes by treaty, and the last and best, by marriage; by which, King James the 6.<sup>th</sup> of Scotland, and 1.<sup>st</sup> of England (of glorious memory) attained to the first and chief step of the union, in being the one head of those two bodies; but the partition of that body, into a more natural constitution of having but one body under that head; is an honor desired for your Majesty; and nothing can be more honorable for the head, than to deliver the body, from present dangers, and future evils.

Amongst the many arguments, which may incite your Royal endeavor for this noble design, and which, no doubt, are more clearly obvious to your Majesty's knowledge, than they can be to one of my low sphere; I am ambitious to be (at least) a Remembrancer of one motive, which a long life hath perhaps exposed to me more clearly, than to my Juniors; and is more immediately the concern of the State; which is, that since the union in the Sovereign; the one Kingdom hath invaded the other, in hostility, ~~four~~ several times, ~~four~~ of which were in direct rebellion against the Sovereign; First, anno 1604 the Scots invaded England; beat his Royal Army at Newburn and,

and forced their Sovereign to a dishonorable peace: The Scots, anno  
1642 invaded England against the King, took in Newcastle -  
and were the great instruments of the Royal interests overthrow,  
by that warr: 3<sup>tho</sup> anno 1648 they invaded England, but:  
indeed for the King, tho not to his advantage, yet to the great  
loss of both Kingdoms: 4<sup>tho</sup> anno 1652 the English invaded  
their King and Scotland; defeated the Scots States Army; and  
harrash the greatest part of the Kingdom: 5<sup>tho</sup> they initially  
invade other, anno 1653; which ended in the overthrow of the  
whole Royal party, in both Kingdoms; for many years: and  
albeit several causes, did concur in those evils, yet none more  
immediately, than there being two separate Kingdoms, tho  
under one head; for it's evident, that the first rebellion anno  
1639 was produced, by the Scots Nations, not being under  
the same Councils, and administrations, with those Councils  
which were immediately under the Kings overseers, and delibe-  
ration: The Scots being in a different government, gave them  
the pretence of proposing different things, yea contrarie to  
what the King and England were doing; and furnished the  
Seditious topics, to persuade the people, that the measures taken  
by

by the King and England, more hurtfull to the interest and honor  
of Scotland: That as they were two Kingdoms, the Kings Councils  
in England, were contrary to the Lawes and opposit to the  
interest of Scotland: which could not have been advanced,  
had not the Councils, and Ministry, been different, and distinct.  
And the late discontent, in the matter of the Scots Colony at  
Darien, did produce such loss to Scotland, such grounds of  
discontent to both Nations, and such perplexities to the King, as  
may give demonstration to any who will consider, what might  
have ensued thereon; to wish a prevention of the like in the  
radical cause; viz. in the National disunion.

In the like manner, as it is the unhappiness of both Kingdoms  
to be obnoxious to factions; one of which, is ordinarily dissatisfied  
with the Government; the different Governments did afford causes  
of discontent; and there being two different parties discontented  
upon two several, and distinct grounds; this did require distinct  
remedies, and different applications: And oft times the remedy  
designed for the one, did canker, and irritate the other, and so it  
did fall out. Several times, in the Reign of King Charles the  
first and second; Thirdly they being two Kingdoms, have thereby  
different interests, with relation to the Sovereign; and the  
mole-content in either, never did, nor never will miss to blow  
up



up Sedition in the other; nor can any thing more readily raise  
the heads, or encourage malignants in one, than to perceive  
any opposition to the King in the other: witness the respiration  
of troubles in both these Kingdoms, from the swelling humors  
of Whig and Torrid; It is most probable, that Whig in Scotland  
had never framed the Rebellion anno 1639, had they been in  
one Kingdom, with England; nor Whig in England raised  
the rebellion anno 1642, had not the example and incitements  
from Scotland, enflamed them; the malcontents in England  
could not have raised the rebellion in Scotland, when England  
was in peace; had they been one Kingdom, under one Council  
and Ministry; nor the King have been in hazard of beggining  
ill humors in one of his Kingdoms, by the concessions granted  
to the other; to which the different constitutions, of both Kingdoms  
have several times obliged him: and it hath been at  
several times found, that the ballancing and adjusting the  
measures in Government, for the two different constitutions,  
has been the greatest embarras, of the Kings Councils, and  
hath occasioned much trouble and disquiet to the Kings affairs.

These are not <sup>may</sup> Bee's but have been sadly verified, in  
the Reigns of King Charles the first, and second: and no less

in the

in the Reigns of James the seventh, and J. William; nor does there want great appearances of evil in view, which will certainly be prevented by an union, and of great difficulty without it.

If we had Sovereigns who designed to impose hardships upon both or either of the Kingdoms, in that case, the keeping of them divided, might be usefull for that bad end; but, God be thanked we have no such thing to fear from your Majesty who has the happiness of a more universal affection from your Subjects in both Kingdoms, than appeared since the death of your great Grand-father; whereby Your Majesty is both above hazard and fear at home; and under no danger from factions or parties, which are all rendered impotent, by Your well established interest over Your Subjects, whereas if malignant spirits want the support of the reciprocal encouragements which the one had from the other Kingdom in their State of separation; The happy union in King and Kingdoms - will leave us easy to the Queen calm amongst our selfs, strong against foreigners, usefull to our friends, terrible to our Enemies, and will prevent mischief even to those, who for mischievous ends, would continue our divisions; as if they feared the peace and happiness of united Britain.

for such

for such were the endeavours of France and Spain from our Union in one head in Queen Elizabeth's time and prosecuted by them more successfully in hindering the complete union of the bodies after King James was settled on the English Throne, in so far that the Spaniard casting of his natural cruelty, did preserve the life of the Lady Elizabeth from her death designed by Queen Mary to prevent Britains Union in the other Queen Mary of Scotland. And the French <sup>King</sup> on the same account did violate the ties of nature, whilst by his Ambassadour Resident with Queen Elizabeth, he prompted her to that worst of her actions in killing Queen Mary; thinking thereby to cutt off an uniting heir and to raise an irremediable quarrell betwixt that Queen and the other heir King, James thereby to fix the disunion.

And what Britains greatest Enemies did scarce more than tell, may point out to a demonstration what is most desirable for the good of Britains Head and body. For places tho remote from the Sovereign person, (who is the Centre of Government) if they be in the unity of



of that body politick where Sovereignty resides, can never  
be said to be remote as to it's Government.

But at small distance from the Princes person, if not  
united in Government with the place of his residence,  
may be compared to these lesser Orbs which have their  
Centres on the circumferences of the greater Orbs, and these  
so situated doe oft times move retrograde to the greater Orbs,  
which hath a different Centre.



## To the *English*.

**I**N a Publick Good, every one may, nay is obliged to contribute his Endeavours : I offer what follows to the Consideration of all true *English* Patriots.

Passing by the general Topicks which perswade an Union of our two Kingdoms, as notour and uncontroverted on all sides, let the particular Heads from whence Difficulties may arise in this matter, be considered ; and these must be either in points of *Government*, *Trade*, or *Private Security*.

In the *Civil Government*, ( for I shall leave the *Ecclesiastick* to the last place ) it's not to be doubted, but *Scotland* must have a sutable Proportion in the Legislative Power : This it would still have had, were it originally of you. And what ? if on the consideration of its being a *totum per se*, when it quits that Honour, to become but a part of you, it should claim the small Recompence of a larger number, than any so much of *England*, in both Houses of Parliament? Consider but this ; and then, as equal Treaters, offer what you judge sutable : and it's hoped you will meet with a sutable Compliance to a reasonable Proposition.

The Difficulty will not ly much in our Representatives in the *Commons* House : And as to the *Peers*, our Number perhaps appears unequal to the Proportion of our Interest ; but Value of Estate was never the Rule, nor perhaps scarce considered, in the Creation of Peerage. And it will be allowed that other considerations ; As the capacity of Persons, their Strength and Proportion of Power in the Common-weal, is

more to be considered in Peers, than Riches : Nor was there ever consideration had, if any parcell or division in England, had more or fewer of the Peers residing in it : Yet if the Scots, in zeall to the common good of *Britain* ; Shall because of the *Umbrage* given by their numerous Peerage, likewise buy this Union, at the price of condescending, to have the present Nobility in Scotland restricted to a Definit and Proportional *Quota* ; Allowing allway consideration on our affectionat compliance, to so humbling an alteration ; Then I say this Impediment is removed.

The difficulties in the manner of this restriction is proper to be considered by the *Scots* ; yet to prevent an objection, which the Peerage of England may make, *viz.* That if the Peers of *Scotland* come to Parliament by Representatives, and thereby subject themselves to elective changes, whereby, he who will be a Peer in one Parliament, may be a *Commoner*, and stand on occasion at the *Commons Bar*, next Parliament ; which is a disrepute to the Order.

Without moralizing on the smalness of the inconvenience, may not this be salved by having all who are Elected by *Scots* as Peers, to continue in that Character during life? and tho' the priviledges of the *Scots* Peers be restricted to an Elective representation, within the house : what inconveniences can arise from their enjoying of all other privileges of Peerage without doors? for when they are called to answer as parties before Judges; and at a view? what loss is ther by having many Peers in *Scotland* above proportion, than that some Shires in *England* have the same ; This is what occurs to me as Objected in this point by *England*, and no doubt the *Scottish* Nobility, will consider that this Union is worth a Price, and since a proportionable number is presumed to be agreed to, the notion of proportion remedies the fancie of Dishonour ; besides that the great distance, the great Expence of attending on our hop'd-for frequent Parliaments, and the unequality of *Scottish* Estates to the *English*, especially when expended in *England*, will induce them to rest satisfied with a proportion

*Eng.*



*England* may in the next place apprehend some inconvenience if the *Scottish* Nation shall come in to freedom of Trade with *England* and it's Plantations. The hurtful, and indeed unnatural apprehensions of these Nations, being still distinct, as well after as before the Union, is a Mother error, and brings forth most of all the mistaken Objections which are proposed; for will *Englands* Trade be the worse, for having more people to Trade by? or is not the encrease of people, the true Base of the increase of Trade and Riches? hath not *Englands* Plantations dispeopled *England* too much? and yet do not their Plantations rather deserve the name of Solitudes, than Colonies? shall their Plantations be the worse for having a new addition of their own People, and encrease of their own National goods? (for so we, and our goods, are, on supposition of the Union) will the advantage of *American* goods and Lands, be grudged to a part of them selves; and yet of necessity allowed (and I wish it were but allowed) to Forreingers: especially when the stocks gain'd by the *Scots*, come into the united *Totum* of *Britain*: and the publick Customs and Imposts of that gain, added to their publick Revenues; Whilst the whole benefit acquired by strangers, is certainly none of theirs, as to publick or privat use, and frequently employed against them. And if some Private mens Interests, should be prejudged by taking in the *Scots* to Plantation-right, or to other branches of Trade; does it not appear that it is so only because these privat men, do thereby want the opportunity of imposing on their fellow Country men; which they cannot so well do, when more do share in that Trade, in which they deal. And consequently, in place of an Objection, this Topick affords a strong motive for the Union, since the increase of Native Traders, and subject of Trade, must certainly produce a common good; whatever inconveniences it occasions to particulars; whose good is founded on common prejudice; as may be seen in the next branch of Trade which I shall mention, viz. the Coal

and Salt Trade from whence, this happy Union, hath been as Ignorantly as unhappily, impeded; by presuming a prejudice from it, to the Coal and Salt Masters of *England*: And on this account, greater Impositions are laid upon *Scottish* Coal, than on any other Forraign Commodity, in proportion, and heavier Customs on *Scottish* than on *French* Salt, our *Post-nati-ship* notwithstanding.

But as it is evident, that this evil so hidiously represented, when well view'd, resolves in this, that, the *Scottish* Coal and Salt will bring the Coal and Salt, to a lower price, and so the spenders of Coal and Salt, shall have it for less, than now they have; and I presume the Coal and Salt spenders in *England*, are a Thousand to One, of Coal and Salt Masters: And this cheapens it only to *English* men, for to any Forraign place, the *Scots* may; and do, export, and do undersell *England*, which raises another view of the imprudence of denying the Union on this head; because while they are a distinct Kingdom they can furnish other places, to *Englands* prejudice: since they send out their Coal & Salt, without any considerable tax on them; If the *English* will remeedy this, by taking off the Tax on their Coal and Salt; that will prejudice their publick Revenue; but after the Union, no doubt our Unity, will not admit of diversity of Taxations on the very same *Species*. And as this, in some small measure will encrease the publick Custom; so it will naturally bring the Trade of Coal and Salt, to a levell in the ballance with *England*: And the conclusion is certain, that *English* men will have Coal and Salt cheaper, and Forraigners dearer than now they have it, and consequently on this ground *England* should desire the Union.

If on any occasion Corns should be brought in from *Scotland* to *England*, the same considerations offered in the Trade of Coal and Salt, do as certainly inforce this, to be an advantage and no disadvantage to *England*.

Another evil of the same birth is set up from that of Navi-

Ingation; You will have more Ships, more Sea-men and more  
 Harbours, and the best in the World, and best Situated for  
 that branch of Trade which I shall name Transport, in which  
 the Commodities of the Southern shall be brought by *Britains*  
 to the Northern Countries, and *Contra*. Are excellent Har-  
 bours, fully Situated, many Ships and many Hands to be em-  
 ployed, a disadvantage or should not this rather invite the Uni-  
 on, even for this cause, and add to this, the great advantages,  
 that this Union must infallibly produce by affording all con-  
 veniencies to conjoynd *Britains*, for enjoying their own trea-  
 sure of Fishing; which can never be securely nor effectually  
 managed, till *Scotland* be United in Trade with *England*;  
 others carrying off the Rich fruit of this our property, whilst  
 we have only the shame and scorn of losing it. *So*  
 And if the Prudence of the *Seven United Provinces*, does  
 by Experience appear, in the 16 Article of the *Utrecht League*,  
 (the *Basis* both of their Security and Greatness) whereby it  
 was provided, that the Subjects of each of the Provinces  
 should Travell and Traffick in one another's Provinces and  
 Towns Freely, and not be Subjected to greater Burdens than  
 the Inhabitants or Domesticks of that Province. I say, if this  
 were agreed to, amongst these who were not United into one  
 and the same Government, but only by a *Confederation*: How  
 much more safe is it to concede this to People reciprocally,  
 who are in the same Body, and incorporated together: For  
 there is a vast Difference from being United by *Stipulation*  
 and *League*; and from the Union in the same *Politick Body*:  
 since a League is 'twixt two at least, who are different and di-  
 stinct: and so speaks Dis-union: For, as *Grotius* evinces,  
*Respublica est quæ habet omnia communia quæ pertinent ad ve-*  
*lumen*; Now Community in Trade, on Identity of Terms, be-  
 ing granted *invoicem* amongst these *Seven Provinces*, only fe-  
 derally United, how much more reasonable, or rather natu-  
 ral is it to allow this Union to a part of our own Body?  
 And if these seeming inconveniencies be thus removed, then  
 con-



consider, that after the Union, *England* will have the *Hightland* Cows, so beneficial to their feeders; their *Linnen* cloath and course Stockings, so useful for their *Country* People, much cheaper than now they have them.

*Scotland* needs not force it self into cloath making, and so at least a Hundred Thousand Pound of yearly consumpt, will be restored to the *English* Clothiers. All other branches of Traffick in which they are now furnished from Forraigners, will run in the natural course from *England*, these impediments which force to seek them elsewhere, being removed by our Union.

Some may think that the difference of the Mint may raise an Obstruction; but that it cannot; for it is certain that a Mint is of no profit for *Scotland*, unless they Coin at a true Standart, and have a fond to afford a free Coinage, but I presume after some experience very little arguing will convince the *Scots* that there was no good ground for debasing their Standart from that of *England*, and so they will quite it & return to uniformity in it with *England*. which will be necessary in Union or reputation, for both Nations, stand Oblidged by Contract that it should be one and the same.

The third Branch, viz. that of Privat Law, cannot afford the least obstruction to any who know the sourse and effect of Law. for there is not a Nation where there are not different local constitutions and consuetudes in conveyances of Rights; without the least Embarras to Government, and if there be a patticular Judicature continued in *Scotland* to judge in privat causes, there cannot be the least inconvenience to the Common-weal by it; or if in future Laws as to privat matters; Generals be limited & Taxt, with *Salvo's* as to that place, will be neither of diffculty nor hurt: and its very like that the mutual blending of the Laws on such occasion, may rectifie many things, with great advantages to the whole: there being some general things, much wanted, or needing great amendments, in the Systems of both our Laws, whither Civil or Criminal; but the

[ 7 ]

the Unity of a Parliament hides all these seams, or makes them one Garment fitted to every particular member.

The greatest difficulty may arise from our Novation in Church Government: and albeit no indifferent thing should hinder so uncontroverted a good; Yet since we must speak in the circumstances wherein we are, may it not be fit, as matters stand on the account of non-conformists even in *England*, to have a fair retreat for those of that temper; *England* will have this advantage by it, that *Scotland* brings no Clergy to the Parliament; which lessens the first ground of jealousy. But if it be of Importance so as to occasion inconveniencies betwixt these Nations, will not these evils be better prevented when we are United, than when we are not. And will not the evils, which *England* fears from *Scottish* Presbytry be better remedied and more easily prevented, when we are under one supream Legislative power than when we are not; And whatever evil consequences may be feared from a Toleration when allowed under so good an Ecclesiastick Policy, as is that of *England*; Yet it may be; the adjunction of a place, where a fit Toleration will be acceptable, and perhaps necessary, may not be so unnatural a piece of the body, as appears at first; The Civil power always framing the constitution to the general design.

I said at first that it were lost time to urge the general Goods, which will redound to both Nations, by this Union: They have been so oft wrot of, and so long known: Witness *England's* 300 years study and industry, in laying hold on all occasions for attaining it: The wisest of their Kings having always with the greatest earnestness pursued a Conjunction.

But it will not be so unfit to reflect a little, on the Evils which our total Dis-union did always produce, and that other class of them which continues by the imperfect Union, whereunto the *Scots* with too little consideration, did throw themselves.

Have not the Resolutions and designs of *England*, in the Exercise of its Government; received several obstructions from

from counteraims, in *Scotland*? and have not both Kings and Parliaments, been sensible of prejudice thereby; Hath not the continuing of *Scotland* in a distinct Kingdom, at a distance from their Prince, forced them to submit to the will of the Court, when the design was to lay a preparative for some undefireable conclusion in *England*? And hath not the preliminary conclusions in *Scotland* been a prevailing perswasion in *England* in many things oftner than once? Hath not *England* found, that the Union in a King, and not in a Kingdom, could not hinder *Scotland* thrice, from Invading of *England*, when *English* Parliaments did not desire such visits? And hath not the King found, that keeping the *Scots* in a distinct Kingdom could not hinder them from joining the Parliament of *England* against him? and their National capacity, was then most useful, first to break his measures, and then his Armies. How did the separate constitution assist General *Monk* against the *English* power Associated against him? and I will, say more by the influence of a separate Constitution, than by any other addition of force or Council? and how have the measures of the *English* Councils, and the peace of the *English* Clergy been embarrassed by this means?

Nor is this answered, by saying that some of these had good effects, or was to good ends, for albeit an accident may alter an effect, yet the thing to be demonstrated, is that our distinct constitution is a powerful Impediment to *England*, when the *Scots* please to make it so: and therefore that only which cures the cause can take off the danger. And since what hath been, may be, let bygon experience bring us to a wise resolution for the future, least a continuance in our dangerous constitution bring us into relapses of former maladies, and perhaps to others more dangerous.

For since it is not possible for *Scots* men not to see the many Evils which, now in five Kings Reigns, have been brought on their Nation, by an Union in a King, and not in the Kingdom; what will they not do to remede these Evils, which



which probably must be by Union in all, or a total Separation, if occasion offer.

Those *Scots-men* who lived with King *James*, at his coming to the *English* Crown, were blinded by Interest, else they might have foreseen it; but these Scales are fallen from our eyes, and we cannot but perceive, that we are not enriched, but very much Impoverished since: and by our partial or rather unnatural Union, our Money is expended in *England*, from whence none returns to us; But with greater mischief, our Trade is lessened, and there is no Nation so much hurt in Trade by *England*, as is *Scotland*; Because we are under their Head, but not of their Politick Body. What hinders that we Trade not to Plantations, or have none, as well as less Populous, and less skillfull People? Why have we no treaty of Trade or Commerce with any Nation? Why are not our Priviledges which we had secured by Treaties and Ancient Leagues, not only not maintained to us, but broken openly? And which is most choking, why did we loss our priviledge of 50 *Sous per Tun*, whereof we were free in *France*, by the Express Treaty of *Englands* Ambassadour? Why do we loss the Friendship of all our ancient Allyes for the quarels betwixt them and *England*, whilst *England* gives neither Friendship, free Trade, nor priviledge to us; But on the contrair, grudge us that commerce which they grant to their most hated Neighbours? Why must we make warr when *England* finds it advantage to make warr, and yet never share in the benefits of *Englands* Treaties, nor partake in the Fruits of their Success; But want not our share in the loss and the Danger? And how comes it to pass, that we who had not only a name amongst the Nations, but whose alliance was Courted and Entertained by the Greatest Princes, are now in contempt and not regarded, but as a Cockboat at *Englands* Stern? The cause is clear.

And can we be so blind as to discern these Mischiefs and Ignominies: or can you Prophecie all our posterity to be so silly, as tamely to acquiesce in such a State, if occasion offer an

[ 10 ]  
opportunity, wherein we may be, at least, what we were. There is not so great a change in the Stars, Elements, in our Soil, nor perhaps in our People, as to found this Assurance.

May be the event will bring us to a worse Fate than what we are now chained to. This is but a may be, and the odds lyes on the other side. In debateing with England we gained more than we lost, or their Friendship hath compenced.

But I do not offer these considerations as wishes or hopes, But as motives to Induce you to be kind to our common Mother Brittain; And to settle your selves, and us, in a full Union; And thereby in a Stable Peace; And then wee shall see more good done to Brittain by this one Act, than hath by all the former Warrs, Marriages and pretended communings of our Ancestors.

And if some disadvantages should arise from the Communication of the *English Trade to Scotland* (And, as it appears, from what I have said, that there is none) hath not communion in Trade, sometimes, And free Liberty of Tradeing, frequently been allowed upon the bare Unions of Allyances and confederations by severall Kings; And (which is more) By Commonwealths, to their Allyes; And with good reason, Commerce being amongst these contracts which are consequential to the Law of Nature, I mean that Natural Law, which regulates the rational Nature.

And consequently ought to be observed amongst all who are not dis-united, so as thereby to be deprived of what Natures Law allows. Which made *Arco* complain in his Oration *ad Archæos: Se non de societate queri, sed de Commercio præbendi repetendiq; juris*, It being amongst those Rights which by the *Greeks* were named *κείμενα*, and added nothing to Natural Right; And was contrarie distinct to *αγοράν*, Which added something to what might be claimed by Natural Right. Whence *Florus, lib. 3. Quos tanquam populi Romæ in hostes consecutus est, quod sublati commercii, Et eo generis humani fœdere rupto, primum Servilius compescuit.*

But

[ 31 ]  
But ancient practice in matter of Commerce will not be so apposit as more modern Examples: did not Charles the Eighth of France and the Swisses Mutualie contract on the 4th August 1484: That their Subjects and Merchants should Mutually not only Travel with their Merchandice, And make their abode in any place of one or others Dominions safely and peaceably, But by the 5th Article it is expressly provided That they may Carrie, Transport and Dispose of their Merchandice, And to Trade as well in Buying as in Selling without any Inhibition or Molestation: They paying the Ordinary Customs and Taxes. This Treaty was of a new Ratified and Extended in the Treaty betwixt Francis and the Swisses at Fribourg on the 29 November 1516: Where it is expressly worded, that what they buy else where and Import for Sale shall be *Sans peage Teaux, Gabells, ni, autre charge.* And specially *Des chevaux, Beufs, ou de autre Bestial duquell lieu soient venue ou nourrie.* And at the same time excluding all other Strangers from the like Priviledge.

And so farr is this extended betwixt Henry the 2d and them an. 1551. That the Swisses have 15 days, after the great Fairs of Lyons, to vend their Merchandice, free of all Burdens and Imposts whatsoever.

And the same very Priviledges are granted by France to the Subjects of the Empire; which Treatie is mentioned for Example in the foresaid Treatie with the Swisses Anno 1551.

Did not France grant to the Hanseatick Association, full freedome of Trade, not only as to Selling and Buying, Residing, or Transporting of all kinds of Merchandice in all his Dominions, free of all Taxes and Tolls, as his Native Inhabiting Subjects, in most ample manner, in the Treaty 'twixt them & Lewis the XI. an. 1483 at Chartres, & Registrate in the Parliament of Paris Decemb. 3. 1484 Ratified by Charles VIII. an. 1489. And Registrat *ut supra*, as also by Franc. I. an. 1536. by Henry II. anno 1552. by Henry IV. anno 1604. and last of all by Lewis XIV. an. 1655. with a particular Extension



as to the freedom of their own Ships whither Built or bought  
as *French Ships*.

Now when bare Allyances and confederations, produce  
such Friendship, and communication of Trade, 'twixt other  
Christian Nations, under distinct Governments and different  
forms of Government, being also different Sects of Religion:  
What might *Scotland* expect with a Kingdome, to whom  
they are united, by Natural conjunction in Land; Unity in  
all Fundamentalls of Religion; Unity in Language; likeness  
in Laws, Intermixtions of Blood, and Unity in one Sovereign:  
And thereby sharers in their Dangers and Losses, and invol-  
ved in their Quarrels; Every of which Specialities are so ma-  
ny arguments *à fortiori*, for *England's* communicating such  
or greater freedom in Trade to *Scotland*, as these different & re-  
mote Princes and States grant to others, who are tyed under no  
such natural Ligaments: Even tho' wee were not united into  
one Body politick: So that to Demurr on these grants, when  
united, or to shun Union, thereby to Evite such ordinarie Con-  
cessions, which dis-union amongst others does not hinder;  
Would declare more Enmity, than either Charity or Prudence  
will allow.

---

**F I N I S.**

---

**I** was so hasted when I writ the foregoing paper, That I forgot one consideration for moving *English* men to the Union; of as great weight, and as universall concern to them, as any particular therein mentioned: which is, that the Exportation of their Wooll, being one of their politick Evils; and that by the Exportation of *Scots* wooll, several woollen Manufactories are set up in *Sweden, Holland* and other places abroad, to the hurt of the *English* Trade; there is not a better remedy, and perhaps scarcely possible, to compleat a stop p, for the export of all Wooll and especialy of *English* Wooll; as will and must ensue on our Union, and united Prohibition.

Another Objection, (but a shallow one) I have heard of to day; and donot remember that I minded it in the former paper; which is, that our *Scotish* Ships, will Ruin the Shipping of many places in *England*, by serving much cheaper both for Export and Import, than the *English* can, or will: The Answer is; If the Merchant can be better served by a Ship in one part of the Kingdom, than by a Ship in an other part; will not he gain so much more? and there may be as many Merchants, as Ship masters; but add, that this will enable the Merchant to afford a better price to the Country man, for the

[illegible]



---

## Considerations for dissatisfied Scots men if any be.

**I**F notwithstanding of the Answers that I have made to the Objections insinuated by some *English* men, against an Union with *Scotland*; And of the many strong reasons which are self-evident, for the great Politick Good, by a Totall Union; and the evident mischiefs, which the experience of many ages, did demonstrat in the by past times of Dis-Union; And which must again emerge, if ever we should be so unhappie as to be again broke asunder (since the like causes will readily have the like effects) And there being no other *Medium* possible; at least so probable, to ascertain the whole of *Britain* from the Ruin threatned by its being cut again in parts: then these *English* men who shall concurr to hinder it, may live to be ashamed thereof, or have their memories Cursed, as the causers of so great an Evil.

And on the other hand, no less Infamie nor execration shall be fixt as a Character, on any Person or Partie in *Scotland*, who shall prove miserable hinderers of the proposed advantageous Coalition; But I hope that not many, great nor wise; And none that are Good; shall draw this stain on their Reputation, nor such evident Injuries on their Posterity.

For albeit the mischiefs were not so great whilst the  
Soveraigns were not only of us, But were known to us, And  
Wee by Them; ( as it is also at this day ) Yet probable Evils  
when they are very great, are to be prevented, when they  
may be so; Lest they cannot be remeaded, when they are  
so: Our Line may fail ( which God forbid ) and then Law  
will support the Interest of Division; And though it should  
not fail, yet Loyaltie hath not always been found an unalter-  
able Qualitie, especially when provoked by Materiall pres-  
sures.

And therefore, that our Loyaltie may never fail, and  
for prevention of the pressures which may provoke it; No  
Caution can be so sure, as the Union proposed.

I shall not inlarge on the motives to perswade Scots men,  
Because they are obvious, and are generally in every mans  
mouth; And I doubt not, are so in most mens hearts; But  
if any be otherways minded it must be either on a privat, or on  
a Publick account. To oppose it on privat designs; such as  
conceit in the point of Honour, that many of the beneficial Offi-  
ces and Employments in Scotland, must needs evanish, by the  
Union; And therefore some may fear to loss the Employ-  
ments they have; Others to miss of what they hope for;  
And fear that their pretensions will not lye so fair, on a  
larger Theatre. People of such narrow designs, are too mean  
to be regarded, and dangerous to be Employed in either  
case.

If it be Objected, that our Nobility will be disparaged,  
when a few only are admitted to sit in Parliament. It is  
Answered ( 1mo ) That their Sitting, being by Election, all  
may have it in Course, if they desire and deserve it; 2do.  
Tho few do sit at a time, Yet that few are our Representatives.  
And they Act on a farr Nobler Theatre when they Act upon  
the Stage of Britain United, than when they Act on a part  
of it. 3tio. The Priviledges of Nobility in Parliament are  
but accidental & Temporarie: yet all the other Priviledges  
with-

[ 17 ]

without that Chamber are still theirs; and much advanced by being assimilated with *England*. Or if a rotation (by which all will be brought in,) please better, if that be the mode wherein *Scotland* will rather acquiesce. There are many reasons to demonstrate, that the other of Representation to be both more for our Honour and Interests, Which for good reasons, I leave to every ones conjecture: But if we have a due proportion, with what Reason can we ask more? And the fears from having few in Parliament, is one of these Paralogisms, which arise from that broody mistake of our being divided, when we are United.

If the motives be in point of Gain, I think none such will occur to Landlords or Tennents; I am sure they do not to me, under that reduplication; Nor can they, if we be not afraid of better prices and larger Mercats.

It may be objected that the *Scots* Nation, will have great disadvantage by having the Center of their Government, The Seat of Councils and Parliaments, at so great a distance; Because thereby, their money will be drained to more remote places. *Answer*; The ordinary Judicatorie remaine where they are; The Parliament will then undoubtedly draw less expence than now; And when we are United, whatsoever is spent, is spent within the Kingdom, In whatever Town or County; And in truth, wee will not then send more Money to *London* than we do now. But if wee did; Let us balance that *super-expence* with what must necessarily flow back upon us, from the free Import of all our Native product and Manufacture into *England*; Their Employing of our shipping: and our Tradeing to and from their Plantations: And then our *Super-expence*, compared with these, will be as the dust in the Ballance: Nay were it but in the one particular of Fishing, our Conjunction with *England* in that Trade, And on our Coasts, and in our Harbours; will a Thousand to one over ballance all the Loss that Fancie can devise by our distance from *London*.

And



And I question, if the remotest County in *England* from *London*, would Exchange their Union from that Government, for being United with Ours, Tho' they could lye within 40 or 50 miles off *Edinburgh*: I believe they would rather double or triple their Tacks; the long experienced distance notwithstanding.

The Divine can find no Restriction by it, in his benefice; nor the Lawyer in his Salary: perhaps both of them may have fewer debates; which (as I take them) is no National evil; And as for the Merchants, I hope they will rather choose to have Imployment worthy of that Name, than to lye still as low as Pedlars. This is not to reflect upon the Men, who are worthy to act upon a greater Stage, But to own the Narrowness of the Circle, to which our Nationall Commerce is restricted,

And as to the publick Interests of *Scotland*; wee may consider them with a respect, either to our Sacred or our civill concerns.

As for the first; Our Religion, God be thanked, is the same in all Fundamentalls, which is a notable preparation as well as Invitation to our Union. And as to *præter*-fundamentalls, If they be of the more indifferent Class, I hope they will prove too Weak to break off, or hinder, the Bonds of Peace in Unity and Charity: And though they be of greater Importance; Yet being still *præter*-Fundamentalls, as such, they are subjected to Charity, and may be protected in the Unity: For I doubt not, that our Wise and Meek Princess, in Her Goodness; and the Wise and Good Men of *England* in their Prudence, will allow so considerable a part of *Brittain*, to continue in that Ecclesiastick Government, which will be most acceptable to the People: For many Nations in Essentiall Union, have different modes in Ecclesiastick Administration; And albeit the True Catholick Church have the most Catholick Unity, Yet I have not read of Two Nationall Churches on Earth, who have not differed from one other in modes of

19

of Government. The Church in such things may have *Varietas sine Scissura*. Fundamentals because they are Essentiall and unalterable in Religion, necessarily reject Variety: But modes of Government, Being neither Essentiall nor unalterable, may admit it; Nay, Charity doth oftimes require it; For if there be one form necessary; What shall become of all the other Churches, who differ from that one? Shall wee conclude, that they are all unchurched? or more charitably believe, that some modall difference hinders not essentiall Unity? And from this occasion wee may happen to cast a copy to others, for leading Christians to retaine Church-Union and communion, notwithstanding of different modes of Government, of different rites, & forms, & notwithstanding of different *Dogma's* in *præter*-Fundamentals, or in things not absolutely necessary for Salvation; Even that, might be a Glory to what hath occasioned so Religious a Patern; and so excellent a Salve, for the wounds given to Religion, by Disputes, Novelty and Schismaticall Principles.

Now as to the Civil concerns in *Scotland*, allow me to lay down such a division of our States and Conditions as may probably be in our choice: for wee are to be in an Union with *England*, or a dis-union; And first of the last.

Albeit it be generally spoke by all Ranks of People, that wee have farr greater Prejudices and Injuries, from and by *England*, since wee were united to them under one Head, and not in one Body; Than when wee were disunited in both; Yet allow me to say, That a State of Warr and almost a constant state of Warr, with a near Neighbouring and a more Powerfull Nation; That plundering of our Country; Burning of our Towns; seazing of our Ships; stopping of our Commerce; and lying always under a Flux and Reflux of Invasions from and on *England*, was no desiræable State; Nor can wee find, upon casting up of accompts, that the benefit which we had in these Times, by the Leagues with, and assistance from Foreign Potentates, did ballance our Loss. We were

D

were perhaps, then courted by Foreign Princes; *Sed cui Bona?* And albeit *England* should prudently consider, that if we be again dis united, wee may then perhaps, find allyance which can give us sutable assistance: Since We being masters of one end, of the best and largest Bridges by which *England* can be entered: Haveing many and ready hands for Warr, promptitude to Invade, and Invincible Strengths to Retire to: And in short, we want nothing but Ships and Money, to be as formidable to *England*, as our Enemies could wish, or *England* can fear: And tho' several of these Topicks may be redargue; there will still as many remain as may Justly fright *England*, from Irritating us too much; *Nam patientia laesa fit furor.* And perhaps may flatter us into a more ready breaking off from *England*; Yet I would have us to consider, that all these are, But *Perhaps's*; and should not invite us, unnaturally to separat from those, to whom God and Nature has joyned us, by many Names; And it is out of doubt that we should rather joine with *England*, ( I do not say in Allyance, or any separable Conjunction, for that will be but Temporary, But in true and unseparable mixtion, *ut simus unus Populus* ) than with all the World beside: And by how much other Princes and Nations, may studie and desire our Dis-union; By so much the rather, should we embrace one another without reserve, These Considerations, and many stronger, which may occur to clearer Judgements, will I hope perswade both Kingdoms mutually to remove the Possibility of a future Totall Dis-union, by a compleat commixtion, so as to become truly one Body.

Thus leaving the affair of Total Dis-union, as an Evil, to be by any means evited; Let us come to the other branch, *viz.* of Union; which must be either in the Continuance of the Union, wherein we stand at present; ( which I hope must continue, so long as our present Gracious Sovereign or Descendents of Her Body shall exist; ) But since on such a failure ( which God Prevent, ) There will a Door be opened to



a division on a new Election, or extension; it may be expected, that what is now lowdly whispered, may be then Proclaimed with resolution.

For there is nothing more the Subject of Common discourse and general resentment; than *Englands* dealing unequally by *Scotland*, in most of affairs, since we were joyned with them under one Sovereign: As in these, That albeit we are borne in alledgance to the Sovereign Queen or King of *England*; And that *England* cannot plead us as *Aliens*; nether negatively, for we are not borne out of the Obedience of their Lord: Nor are we positively born under the obedience of a Forraign King: And yet our men, our Ships, Cargoes, and all goods Imported or Exported, are treated as *Aliens*; And as the goods of *Aliens*: We are accustomed, as if we were obliged, to bestow our Blood and Goods, in Warr, against who ever are in Warr with *England*: to expose our selves, to the Enmitie of their Enemies, Though our Ancient, Allies, Confederats and Friends: And all this to Enhance more of Trade, and thereby of Treasure to *England*; And so soon as the design is attained, then no Nation so much, at least none more, excluded from all benefit of *English* Trade and Plantation, than *Scots-men* are; The injustice whereof, is become a Nationall Complaint: We fight to force *Englands* Enemies to treat with them, And *Scotland*, tho' Subjected equally, or *pro rato*, to danger, and loss with them; Yet never shared in the Benefits Treated for, nor scarce mentioned in the Leagues. A great Instance whereof, was found in the Lord *Hollis*; (Tho' no personall Enemy to our Nation,) who as Ambassadour for *England*, did treat Expresly, and procured, that our Priviledge of Immunitie in *France* from the 50 *Sous per Tun*, To which other Forraigners were lyable, should be taken off; And *Scotish* Vessells made lyable to that Tax. These, with the great distance that our whole, as we are a distinct Kingdom, lyes in, from

from our Sovereigns Immediate influence; Whereof every part of that whole, wherein they reside, doth partake. And the many Losses & Indignities that *Scotland* suffers thereby; Albeit, in Justice, where our Sovereigns Court is, that is, or ought to be, as a *Communis patria* to us; I say these, and many other lesser evils, reaching down to our very Pedlars; are so resented by almost every thinking person in *Scotland*, That it is not to be thought, were they free to a new constitution, that ever they would make such an imperfect Union with a State which deals so unequally by them.

There remains then but the other mode of Union; *viz* That of being United in one body, under One and the same Head, By a perpetuall Identifying One-ness: which will give a present contentment to all minds; A security against all apprehensions in our Selves, or hopes to our Adversaries of our dis-union, or variance. It will strengthen *Brittains* force, Increase *Brittains* Trade, Facilitate all the Exercise of Government to the Sovereign; And so this *One* will more solidly, than any other Neighbour, pretend to be, *Non pluribus impar*.

F I N I S